



**TO PREVENT GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY:
DIVERSE PERSPECTIVES ON A STANDING, RAPID-REACTION
UN EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE
MARCH 29, 2007**

WORKSHOP REPORT



Symposium Report on the United Nations Emergency Peace Service Initiative Convened at Rutgers Law School, March 29 2007

On March 29, 2007 the Rutgers University Global Legal Studies Program, the Rutgers International Law Society and Global Action to Prevent War held a symposium to examine diverse perspectives on a United Nations Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS) to prevent genocide, crimes against humanity and other grave humanitarian catastrophes. This report details important contributions to UNEPS development from panels of experts representing the UN, the academy and the policy community from diverse global regions. The day's panels were structured around carefully selected themes and encouraged dialogue among participants. The conference organizers intended for panelists and audience members to leave the event with piqued or renewed interest in the use of standing, rapid deployment UN capacity to prevent mass human rights violations. Organizers and participants alike were energized by a process that will lead to the eventual creation of a UN Emergency Peace Service.

Stuart Deutsch, Dean of the Rutgers School of Law welcomed participants and attendees to the day's events. Dean Deutsch applauded the efforts of Global Legal Studies Program co-chair Professor Saul Mendlovitz to make such intellectually enriching and socially conscious programmatic contributions to both the Law School and to wider society.



Professor Mendlovitz, Dag Hammarskjöld Professor of Peace and World Order Studies, began by reminding attendees that as international efforts evolve, they require new, internationally recognizable terms. Such was the genesis of the word *genocide*, which was invented in 1944 by Raphael Lemkin, a Polish Jewish scholar who then spent his life lobbying the UN's member states to adopt the Genocide Convention. Interestingly enough, Raphael Lemkin could be considered Professor Mendlovitz's predecessor at Rutgers School of Law, as he taught at the school in the mid-1950s just prior to Professor Mendlovitz's arrival.

Attention was then turned to the proposal being examined throughout the day's workshop: the creation of a United Nations Emergency Peace Service. UNEPS is unique among current peacekeeping proposals and well suited to fill the gaps between the *commitment* of the international community to address mass atrocities and its *capacity* to do so. The UN Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS) is being developed according to the following principles:

1. It will be a *permanent standing force* based at UN-designated sites.
2. It will be capable of *rapid response*, able to respond to an emergency within *48 hours*.
3. It will be coherently organized under a *unified UN command*.
4. It will involve as many as 15,000 personnel, individually recruited from many different countries and demonstrating *skills in conflict resolution, humanitarian assistance, law enforcement and other peacekeeping capabilities*.
5. UNEPS personnel will receive *comprehensive, expert training* in peacekeeping with an emphasis on human rights and gender issues.
6. UNEPS will *supplement existing UN and regional peacekeeping operations*, providing another tool to support international efforts to end genocide and crimes against humanity.
7. UNEPS will be financed through the *regular UN budget*.

Professor Mendlovitz then welcomed keynote speaker Sir Brian Urquhart, former UN Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs and longtime advocate for a standing, rapid reaction capacity for the UN. Sir Brian was followed by panelists with expertise in human rights, humanitarian aid and peacekeeping who engaged with points raised during the keynote address while infusing the discussion with their own unique expertise.

Keynote Address by Sir Brian Urquhart



Sir Brian Urquhart began his remarks by emphasizing the need for action to legitimize great declarations as exemplified by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Genocide Convention. At the UN, common sense is often overshadowed by the self-interest of member states and the effect of group hysteria, which increases the difficulty of creating something such as a UN rapid response force (an idea that often makes so much sense to people on the street). Over the years, however, prominent individuals such as John Foster Dulles, Trygve Lie and Ronald Reagan have promoted such a capacity, which encourages us that political will has been and can be achieved.

The state of the world over the past few decades makes the need for a UNEP-style service clear. During the Rwandan genocide, refugee camps in the Eastern Congo became military camps and Sadako Ogata, then UN High Commissioner for Refugees, made plea after plea for UN military units to monitor the camps. In reference to the current crisis in Darfur, Sir Brian recommended the urgent deployment of UN troops to bolster the African Union force—even against the refusal of the government in Karthoum.

Sir Brian also addressed a number of commonly-held concerns about such a Service. In response to the critique that the creation of a rapid reaction force would be expensive, He pointed out that the price of dealing with the aftermath of such conflicts is much costlier. Other concerns focus on the contention that UNEPS would violate traditional ideas of sovereignty, especially since nations like Russia and China are generally uneasy about empowering the UN. And that the Global South is hesitant to endorse forces with the capacity to intervene out of the fear that it would only strengthen the power of dominating northern powers. Promoters of UNEPS need to convince reticent nations that it is possible to create a system that will operate in the way in which it is intended: to protect those who cannot protect themselves. The notion that the UN is some “charity case” that is supported despite the fact that it often doesn’t work very well must be combated, he explained.

Although alternative mechanisms with the capacity to resolve conflict exist, including regional arrangements and military organizations such as NATO, Sir Brian noted that none of these mechanisms address some of the most basic shortcomings that the international community faces. Standby arrangements of national governments will always be less desirable than a standing, integrated, highly trained and motivated force like that proposed for UNEPS.

He noted that within the context of UN reform, the development of the “responsibility to protect” as a positive norm in the political and legal international law frameworks will require a “sharp end” such as UNEPS to enforce it. Sir Brian concluded his talk by noting the importance of the day. “I hope you have a good discussion,” he said, “and I think you have to see yourselves as people who are holding a vital, strategic position until the infantry comes up. If we are going to go on supporting international law, we will have to have the means to make it work, and an Emergency Peace Service is one of the things that we will have to achieve.”

PANEL I: How can a United Nations Emergency Peace Service Help Prevent Genocide and Crimes against Humanity in the 21st Century?



Dr. Lois Barber, Director of EarthAction, thanked Sir Brian for highlighting the history of standing, rapid reaction capacity and for reminding the group of the spirit and persistence of Raphael Lemkin. She noted that a good idea, leadership, a network and persistence were the characteristics needed to make social change. She then introduced her panelists, who examined the strengths and limitations of the United Nations Emergency Peace Service proposal in light of Sir Brian’s opening remarks.

What are the Current Capacities for Rapid Response to Genocide or Massive Human Rights Violations?

Dr. Peter Langille, author of “Bridging the Commitment-Capacity Gap: A Review of Existing Arrangements and Options for Enhancing UN Rapid Deployment” began his talk by sharing that 20 years ago his mother gave him the book “A Life in War and Peace” by Sir Brian which became a pivotal influence on his career. He then responded to the keynote address by discussing the benefits and shortcomings of existing arrangements such as the UN Standby Arrangements System (UNSAS), the Standby High-Readiness Brigade (SHIRBRIG), the North American Treaty Organization (NATO), EU Battlegroups and the African Union’s plans for a Rapid Response Force. The success of each of these rapid response options remains contingent upon a nation’s political will as well as the amount of time it takes to actually prepare and deploy those troops. Peter also pointed out other shortcomings, indicating that even with adequate time to prepare and the consent of Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs), the rejection of an operation by the government of the country in conflict can trigger delays with serious humanitarian consequences. Furthermore, troops are not pre-trained for the conditions they will encounter and have little experience in stopping violence and protecting civilians. Many of the current standby arrangements such as SHIRBRIG and the EU Battlegroups are comprised of troops from Western countries who, by virtue of being associated with their country’s prior colonial history, are not welcomed warmly in much of the rest of the world.



As the first 15 weeks represent the most crucial period within a conflict, the delayed deployment of troops often leads to escalating violence. Dr. Langille envisions UNEPS as a UN 911 service for diverse emergencies in which the most qualified applicants from all regions would be selected and trained; organized in a uniformly trained, coherent formation; and capable of immediate deployment. Ultimately, the best hope for a solution to armed conflict is early prevention and early response. Ideas such as UNEPS, he notes, only seem to gain traction after a grave human rights tragedy. At this moment members of the UNEPS working group and concerned citizens and policymakers are preparing a proposal and developing a wide base of support for a dedicated UN service so that when the political moment presents itself, they will be ready with the tools, networks and political will needed to establish a UN Emergency Peace Service.

What is the Impact of UNEPS on Enforcing International Law, Engendering Peacekeeping Operations, and Traditional Views of Sovereignty?

Rutgers Law School Professor Karima Bennoune began as Sir Brian Urquhart did by stating that in order to take international law seriously, there needs to be the means to make it work.



Professor Bennoune felt that the idea for a UNEPS, or some kind of rapid response force, is a very worthy idea deserving of serious consideration. Although the international community repeats calls for “never again,” the millions of dead in the Congo and in Rwanda underline the fact that genocide and crimes against humanity still happen with alarming frequency. UNEPS is one way of taking action instead of ignoring international atrocities. Professor Bennoune exemplified the few brave peacekeepers in Rwanda who stayed to guard refugees crowded into stadiums as proof of what a small, dedicated force such as UNEPS might be able to accomplish in the future. The UNEPS proposal focuses on the real need in the international community for the enforcement of the most fundamental norms of law: to protect the most vulnerable. She called for the reclamation of the kind of “realism” in international relations that has long recognized the need for something like UNEPS. Notably, in order for this to happen there is still a real need for reform of the Security Council.

Professor Bennoune’s second point was that the world community must learn to respond preventively to warning signs of a deteriorating situation, and should avoid waiting until conflict actually flares up before reacting.

Lastly, Professor Bennoune urged that the UNEPS proposal take women’s human rights into account. In light of the crimes committed against women by aid workers and peacekeepers in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda, for example, it is important to recognize the need for greater representation of women as UNEPS personnel, as well as the need for gender sensitive training and severe punishments for those who violate women’s rights. UNEPS, Bennoune concluded, is an optimistic proposal because it insists on including gender-sensitive training from the beginning.

To the question posed by moderator Lois Barber on the challenge of UNEPS to traditional notions of sovereignty, Professor Bennoune noted that there are aspects of sovereignty that are important, but other parts are often misused to shield perpetrators of violence and undemocratic governments, and are harmful to the promotion of human rights. The international community is moving towards an understanding that governments committing crimes against humanity cannot use sovereignty to evade international action. The full development of this new understanding of sovereignty should open doors to the creation of a standing, rapid response capability.

What does UNEPS Training need in Order to Conform to Existing Human Rights Norms?



Steve Crawshaw, UN Advocacy Director for Human Rights Watch began with two important notions: First, the International Criminal Court is an example of an impossible achievement made possible by changing public opinion. Second, the development of the “responsibility to protect” norm has successfully established that while sovereign states bear the first responsibility of protecting its citizens, the rest of the world stands ready to fill the gap in case of failure. A movement from rhetoric to reality is now a necessity.

A challenge that the United Nations faces is international blowback from human rights violations committed by UN peacekeepers themselves. As the situation currently stands, troops who commit atrocities while participating in UN peacekeeping operations are simply sent home. Worst yet, there is also the phenomenon of “recycling” in which soldiers who had been sent home for violating international law are deployed on a new UN mission a few years later.

Mr. Crawshaw noted that one of the important aspects of the UNEPS proposal is that UNEPS would establish the direct accountability of soldiers to the UN rather than the countries that sent them. Another benefit with UNEPS is that all personnel would undergo intense training in gender and human rights issues.

Discussion:

A question from the audience prompted a discussion regarding the proposed size of the service, questioning whether a 15,000 force would be exhausted in a single mission. The response from the panel was that the proposed service size is primarily a political decision, noting that UN Member States that are already apprehensive about a standing force would be even less comfortable with a larger-sized capacity. Questions that should be pursued further include what the “triggers” are for deploying UNEPS. Just as criteria for deployment are developed, the criteria for withdrawal and the procedures for how a more traditional UN Peacekeeping Operation could follow a ‘first in, first out’ UNEPS deployment should also be defined.

An interesting political argument for UNEPS was discussed, noting that the existence of UNEPS may remove “false” rationales for inaction--moments where the lack of political will for whatever reason is masked by a shortage of available troops or funding. If UNEPS was “ready, willing and able,” the question would become “what are you waiting for?”

Panelists also revisited the question of composition and training: UNEPS would attempt to be as gender equitable as possible in its composition, and as Sir Brian commented, UNEPS should be conceptualized as a service receiving the highest civilian and military training in the world. Its “mystique” would eventually contribute to shorter, more effective peacekeeping operations as successful tactics and on-the-ground experiences contribute to a reputation for response that can actually deter conflict (such as with the Green Berets). A panelist reiterated that UNEPS should also enhance the record of peacekeepers on upholding human rights since human rights will be integrated into the entire training regimen rather than the current four hour “human rights session” held weeks into the training of troops.

PANEL II: How can the International Community best fulfill its “Responsibility to Protect?”

Sapna Chhatpar, Program Associate for the “Responsibility to Protect” (R2P) project at the World Federalist Movement-IGP chaired the second panel and introduced the ‘responsibility to protect’ concept. Developed in 2001 by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) and adopted at the World Summit in 2005, the “responsibility to protect” norm determines that nations have the responsibility to protect their people from massive violations of human rights. If a nation fails to do so, it then becomes the responsibility of the international community to take action. Over time, the international community has evolved from absolute norms of sovereignty to conditional norms of sovereignty. The responsibility to protect is comprised of three pillars: the prevention of conflict, the reaction to conflict, and post-conflict rebuilding. It is fruitful to see how UNEPS might act as a tool to respond to mass atrocities, Sapna said, both in the prevention and reaction phases of a conflict. Following her introduction, she asked the panelists to examine some of the promises and challenges inherent in the evolving norm of the “responsibility to protect” as well as new efforts such as the UNEPS proposal to make UN and regional peacekeeping operations more responsive--more rapidly--to the security needs of civilians.

What Obstacles face UNEPS?

Courtney Smith, Associate Dean of Academic Affairs at Seton Hall University addressed this question by first noting the broad support that the “responsibility to protect” principle has received and outlined three important ways this consensus has contributed to the Security Council’s work to protect civilians:



1. It made the protection and treatment of civilians a legitimate issue of concern to be addressed in the Security Council.
2. It provided a guide for the Security Council while it works toward more effective initiatives to protect civilians.
3. It provided a common language and vocabulary that has been embraced internationally and can be reflected in future Security Council Resolutions—therefore the wheel will not need to be reinvented.

However, he also identified three main obstacles to the UNEPS proposal:

1. The traditional notion of sovereignty (Article 2 of chapter 7 of the UN Charter) still greatly influences much of what the Security Council does. Furthermore, the fact that every country is vulnerable to criticism in some form sets a precedent for silence: no state wants to openly criticize, as they don’t want to be criticized themselves.
2. The national interests of great powers frequently interfere with international action. As an added layer of complexity, some nations’ sovereignty interests are seen to “matter” or be more respected than others.
3. “Political will” represents the final barrier. Both nations that contribute troops and nations that are directly involved in conflict regularly fail to follow through on their peacekeeping obligations. UN mandates are rarely as robust as they need to be and this contributes to mission failure.

According to Smith, UNEPS represents the “tip of a wedge” that would be a vital resource for dealing with international conflicts. However, Smith suggests that in addition to the 12-15,000 personnel

in the current UNEPS proposal, member states will still need to muster the political will to deploy second wave peacekeepers to follow a UNEPS force to prevent more widespread conflicts. Smith argued that protecting civilians could be facilitated if the Security Council was seen as having greater legitimacy, which requires serious reform regarding the Council's composition and working methods.

How can UNEPS be utilized as an Instrument of Humanitarian Relief?



According to Dr. Alejandro Soto Romero, Chief of the Department of Preventive Medicine at the Ministry of Health in Mexico, UNEPS is also needed in the arena of disaster relief and complex emergencies. A 'complex emergency' is defined as a humanitarian crisis in which there is considerable societal breakdown that requires outside humanitarian assistance. It is marked by extreme violence, mass displacement and loss of life. The National Intelligence Council defines humanitarian emergencies as situations where at least 300,000 civilians need humanitarian assistance. The number of people affected by natural disasters is

five times greater than those affected by armed conflict. Therefore, Dr. Soto Romero asserts that in situations caused by armed conflict, genocide, *and* natural disasters, basic human needs including the safety of survivors must be met.

UNEPS would be able to alleviate the suffering of civilians in natural disasters both in terms of providing direct aid and by providing security to the organizations on the ground that are providing aid. He noted that after some natural disasters, the spread of infectious diseases leads to armed conflict and instability. He also stressed that humanitarian relief workers not only face security dangers in conflict zones, but also after natural disasters where the absence of a central authority allows armed groups to impose their will on others. Thus, UNEPS could be utilized to restore security for civilians and aid workers in both natural disasters and conflict areas. After all, denying aid to those who desperately need it should be considered a crime against humanity, for such a policy can cost many lives without firing a single bullet. Dr. Soto urged that if the true goal of the UNEPS proposal is to save lives, one should not focus solely on military capabilities but also on providing humanitarian relief during complex emergencies.

What are the Key Logistical Considerations for a Standing Rapid Response Force?

Joshua Smith, Research Associate of the Future of Peace Operations program at the Henry L. Stimson Center, addressed the operational requirements for military missions that are mandated to protect civilians. He began by noting that the Stimson Center distinguishes between Chapter 7 coercive deployments and "R2P interventions," the latter of which includes intervention to specifically address genocide or crimes against humanity. According to Mr. Smith, the vast majority of peacekeeping operations, even under Chapter 7, are deployed following the signing of a peace agreement regardless of how fragile it might be. Deployment in response to genocide or crimes against humanity is completely different, as there is not even a pretense of peace between groups. Since 1999, there have been over a dozen UN missions authorized under Chapter 7, meaning that they are able to use force if necessary to protect civilians under imminent threat. There are now over 70,000 peacekeepers in the field under this type of mandate, so why do we still see such mixed results regarding how peacekeepers are able to respond to protect civilians?



Research done by the Stimson Center has found that there has been a marked lack of guidance on the part of the UN, commanders in the field, and troop contributing countries focused on how to respond to the protection of civilians. For example, in 2003 during the outbreak of mass violence in the Eastern Congo, peacekeepers were unclear about the requirement of protecting civilians and in some cases did not even realize that they were operating under Chapter 7 authority. The reality is that forces such as those in the Eastern Congo are being forced to “sort out” their mission once they are already on the ground. The Stimson Center publication “The Impossible Mandate?” examines how military doctrine has not yet caught up with political support for the responsibility to protect—while there is rhetorical support for protecting civilians, there are no specific plans or clear military training protocols for how to do so. This in part reflects the complexity of modern missions—the blurred line between peacekeeping and war-fighting. Under the current system, we should not assume that if only there was sufficient political will to send in troops, the conflict would end and lives would be saved.

When one looks at the history of interventions to halt genocide, Joshua stated, the record of effectively addressing genocide is uneven. Most frequently, successful cases were characterized by a single nation leading an intervention to halt genocide. Some relatively short, “successful” interventions include the 1999 Australian-led intervention in East Timor where 3,700 troops were deployed within a week of Security Council authorization; the 2,000 troop British-led mission in Sierra Leone which backed up a fledgling peacekeeping mission; and the 90 day EU/French-led ARTEMIS mission that was deployed in the Congo in 2003 to reinforce a UN mission overwhelmed by local outbreak of violence. All of these represent successes from which to extrapolate lessons on what might be required for more complex missions of this kind. We need to learn these lessons quickly so that we actually have an effective mechanism for enforcing the responsibility to protect.

Discussion:

Joe Schwartzberg noted that the UNEPS proposal places military capacity as one component of a more comprehensive package. Something not currently mentioned in the proposal is the role of civilian administrators. Schwartzberg's essay in the UN Chronicle, which calls for a UN administrative corps, should be considered in the context of developing the UNEPS proposal.

In response to a question from the audience, Joshua Smith explained that the UN is currently in the process of developing “guidance,” similar to what some may call “doctrine” for its peace operations. The UN has developed the “big picture” and will now work on flushing out the standard operating procedures. “Guidance” is currently being written to facilitate the “protection of civilians,” which tackles basic questions such as the meaning of “civilian protection” within peacekeeping mandates.

Saul Mendlovitz and Alejandro Soto Romero discussed the tension involved with using UNEPS in cases of environmental and humanitarian disasters. Professor Mendlovitz felt that UNEPS should not be deployed in complex emergencies, noting that UNEPS would not lack for genocide-related situations in which it is needed and that dealing with natural disasters may overburden the service. Dr. Soto noted that there are plenty of examples of aid workers who, by virtue of lacking security, were unable to assist persons in need. These include Médecins Sans Frontières, who had worked in Afghanistan for 25 years but for security reasons were forced to pull out in June 2004 because 5 of their personnel were killed. That same year,



CARE stopped their work in Iraq and pulled out because the director of CARE International was killed. Seven aid workers were also recently killed in Sri Lanka. If security in unstable situations, even in areas affected by natural disasters is assured, other agencies can do their job. Unfortunately, this does not happen. UNEPS is billed as a “first in first out” capacity; if UNEPS could arrive first in a complex emergency to secure the area and then turn it over to other agencies and operations, many lives could be saved. Peter Langille noted that although individuals have varying opinions on the matter, the consensus-based proposal drafted in prior conferences does allow for UNEPS to be used in the aftermath of natural disasters.

Panel III: How is UNEPS Perceived in Diverse Global Regions?

Waverly de Bruijn, coordinator of Global Action to Prevent War, introduced the panel that examined the political landscape and differing perspectives in regions of the world to a standing rapid reaction capacity for the UN. Given regions’ history, cultures and economic interests, governments and citizens in Africa will have different concerns than governments and citizens in Europe. It is vital that we examine these diverse interests in order to accommodate the legitimate concerns of diverse global actors, and to determine how to overcome the political obstacles to the creation of a standing UN capacity that could prevent genocide and protect civilians. The following panelists are prominent individuals from Germany, South Africa and the United States who have spent considerable time thinking, reading and writing about the creation of a United Nations Emergency Peace Service. They answered questions focused on the background and history of genocide in their region, the relationship between the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and regional rapid response mechanisms, and the regional receptivity/political will for creating UNEPS.



What are the Challenges and Opportunities for Promoting UNEPS in Africa?

Dr. Hussein Solomon from South Africa’s Centre for International Political Studies in the University of Pretoria first addressed the question by calling to our attention the habitual amnesia around the world with regard to the various conflicts across Africa. “This is not just about Darfur,” he stated. Political instability is rife in places such as the Niger Delta, Swaziland, and the Central African Republic, amongst others. Therefore, the need to understand present and historical circumstances and promote UNEPS as a part of a broader conflict prevention scheme is urgent.



Dr. Solomon then addressed the recurrent notion of sovereignty in relation to UNEPS, and the fearful attitude in many African nations of outside intervention—often seen as a form of neo-colonialism on the part of Western nations acting through the UN. Despite this fear, the relationship between Africa and the UN is changing for the better, he stated, as can be seen by the pervasive call across African nations demanding UN deployment of peacekeepers in Darfur. There have also been regional attempts to implement an African standby force: the proposal calls for 5 brigades for the 5 regions of Africa including the southern Africa SADIC brigade and ECOWAS in western Africa, each 3,000 strong. There have been problems getting these capacities off the ground. It is critical to note that Africa does have its own standby force arrangements, though it has been plagued by numerous problems, some of which UNEPS might also face.

These include:

1. The need to develop common command and control of forces.
2. Acquiring the requisite resources such as strategic airlift capacity for the standby force, as African nations seldom have sufficient strategic capability in this area.
3. Pivotal states responsible for such a force, such as Nigeria and South Africa, have their own problems of poverty and are unable to resolve conflict themselves.
4. Political will.
5. Pseudo-democracies and dictatorships, where state elites object to the presence of a strong interventionary force.

Dr. Solomon then connected these problems directly to UNEPS capacity, identifying the following as the primary obstacles the proposal will have to overcome among African nations:

1. Regional receptivity and the issue of sovereignty and foreign intervention. However, if multilateralism is stressed and the authorization for UNEPS deployment is clear and agreeable to African nations, this could be ameliorated.
2. Notions of African pride and the desire to find “African solutions for African problems.” Pride, however, is contrasted by practical considerations on the ground. Fortunately, Hussein stated, this concern is evolving as can be seen by the AMIS acceptance of NATO communications equipment assistance in Darfur.

Lastly, Dr. Solomon concluded by emphasizing the importance of selling UNEPS as a means to complement existing African forces. “This will not supplant programs already in place, but it will simply be a means of reinforcing them,” he reminded us.

What is the Reception to UNEPS in Europe?



Dr. Detlev Wolter, author of “A UN for the 21st Century: From Reaction to Prevention” (Nomos: 2007) addressed the question by first expressing that the time for a UNEPS has come. The UN, he declared, is at a time of unique power as it is seen as the only legitimate international body in the world. We are seeing a structural, systemic change in the international order, but without “hard power” elements, change is fragile and not irreversible.

Outlining some of the welcome changes that have occurred recently within the UN, Detlev listed the universal endorsement of the “Responsibility to Protect” as well as the concept of “human security,” which puts the individual at the center of security concerns. These norms are the first steps and now need to be validated by real, practical mechanisms. UNEPS, he added, is the most succinct, convincing and compelling means of achieving such security.

Delineating a more detailed strategy for promoting UNEPS, Dr. Wolter emphasized the need to have a group of leaders from various sectors (religious, political, military, business and civil society) adopt the project. This way forward, he stated, includes finding groups of like-minded countries to start the process inside the UN to make UNEPS a reality. It also involves launching a campaign similar to the one against landmines which was a comprehensive and integrated project comprised of numerous actors. Just as the German government made Darfur a priority and led European

states to call for a UN peacekeeping force, Dr. Wolter suggested the same process result in a UNEPS capacity. In fact, he noted, there is a significant movement in Europe that is beginning to prioritize conflict prevention measures, backed by a strong resolution put forth by the Green Party in Germany which also looks at a variety of military and civilian capacities as tools in conflict prevention.

Despite the importance of hard power, “military power alone does not solve issues,” he noted, affirming the strong civilian component within the UNEPS proposal. Aside from the EU, countries such as Norway and Switzerland are also very supportive of conflict prevention measures and would most likely embrace the creation of a UNEPS. “What we need now is concrete specific action,” he concluded, adding, “UNEPS will bring the UN system that we know closer to how it ought to be.”

What is the North American Perspective on a UNEPS?

Don Kraus of Citizens for Global Solutions in Washington D.C. first addressed the question from the Canadian perspective and worked his analysis south to Mexico. He noted Canada’s long-time support for peacekeeping and conflict prevention measures. Canada would be very receptive to UNEPS, he stated, as they have been long-time proponents of UN peacekeeping and have put forth earlier proposals for rapid deployment. Publicly, 80% of Canadian citizens support the creation of a rapid reaction force for the UN. Although there has recently been a conservative swing in the country and they have stepped away as a supplier of peacekeeping forces, Kraus felt “it is a pendulum that can swing back right away.”



Despite widespread support in Canada, Kraus noted, the situation is a bit more complex in the US. The last poll in 2004 indicated that 79% of Americans support a UN rapid deployment force, and 74% favor a standing force. The same vision, however, is not fully reflected in Congress where only 67% were in favor of a standing UN force; about 38% of Republicans support this initiative while 79% of Democrats are in favor. The recent bill introduced on behalf of UNEPS, House Resolution 213, indicates the challenging political climate for such an initiative. Democrats, Mr. Kraus stated, are timid about using their current advantage in Congress for something like UNEPS. The support is broad, but not deep. For Democrats, Iraq is seen as the larger problem right now.

Realistically, he added, if UNEPS was proposed to the global community by the US alone, it would never be accepted. Our goal must be to educate and build support, especially in the Global South, where many countries are still apprehensive about this. In order to soften US views on a proposal such as UNEPS in line with favorable endorsement in other countries, he noted, it is critical to do the following:

- Integrate civil society organizations into the movement: utilize US groups such as the Partnership for Effective Peacekeeping who are concerned with the US role in global peacekeeping and the prevention of genocide.
- Letter-writing and lobbying to urge the US to prioritize UN peacekeeping and pay up their \$1.3 billion commitment to the UN budget.
- Convince the US military of how UNEPS can fulfill responsibilities that might otherwise overburden the US.

Mr. Kraus lastly addressed Latin American support for UNEPS, asserting that countries that have recently experienced violence have much greater civilian support for the initiative, as they see the urgent need for it. On the other hand, countries more preoccupied with their own development do not necessarily prioritize the need for a UNEPS.

Discussion:

Ms. de Bruijn noted that regrettably there is no representative from the Asian continent on the panel, since that perspective on UNEPS may differ markedly from other regions. In particular, heavy UN Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs) such as India, Pakistan and Bangladesh may see UNEPS cutting into their existing relationship with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Don Kraus noted that the UN currently has over 90,000 peacekeepers deployed globally, which is much larger than the proposed 15-18,000 personnel for UNEPS. Therefore, there is little threat that national contingencies will “go out of business.” It is also valuable to note that the UN can deploy peacekeepers at as little as 1/8 of the cost of US peacekeeping operations, proving that UN operations can be more “cost-effective” than national contingents.

Detlev Wolter noted that UNEPS does not replace the need for regular UN peacekeeping operations. In the long run it is to their benefit because Troop Contributing Countries will be pleased that UNEPS went in first and stabilized the riskiest situations, paving the way for a smoother transition for traditional UN Peacekeepers. Take for example the EU force in the Congo: Wolter noted that it took several months to get approval from EU countries to send a force into the Congo, delaying deployment. World leaders should appreciate that because UNEPS is a standing force of volunteers, deployment could have begun much more quickly, before the situation escalated further. A Professor from Cambodia sitting in the audience suggested that the people of Cambodia are looking for any kind of viable strategy to prevent genocide and may support UNEPS on those grounds.

Lois Barber asked whether conditions are favorable right now for the creation of a UNEPS. In response, Don Kraus shared that he was at a hearing last week of international organizations and one of the questions asked was “what about Darfur?” The U.S. Administration said that if there wasn’t a UN force deployed in January “we should go to plan B.” What is that plan now? When one looks at the spillover into Chad, Chad's president did call for a UN force--from which he has since backed down. But had UNEPS existed it could have deployed immediately at that time, and fewer lives would have been disrupted by this growing conflict.

Detlev Wolter noted three conditions present today for “an idea whose time has come:” First, we are living in a globalized world where any event “shocking to the human psyche” cannot be disregarded because we are all witnesses. Secondly, people rightly ask to have their say on these issues. Democracy cannot be limited to formal representatives of the nation-state. Issues of fundamental importance are decided on an international level and therefore international civil society is important. As the International Campaign to Ban Landmines has shown, civil society can and must have its say. The third condition is that we are living in a post-cold war era which in itself represents an opportunity for the UN to act to embrace this new peacekeeping capacity.

Another audience member asked about the conditions that must exist in order for UNEPS to be deployed. Detlev Wolter noted that the UNEPS proposal uses the six criteria for humanitarian intervention outlined in the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty

(ICISS) report. Hussein Solomon noted that in terms of Africa, authorization should be in consultation with African leaders to minimize unwarranted or unintended effects of intervention. Don Kraus noted that the Coalition for the International Criminal Court decided to keep their core principles for an ICC focused on basic goals. In the same way, those advocating for a UNEPS realize that we must also focus on basic principles. Ultimately member states will be the ones to determine criteria for deployment.

Sapna Chhatpar asked how useful the 'Responsibility to Protect' principle can be if the international community will not act unless consent to deploy from the state in question is given. Would UNEPS require such consent? Mr. Wolter replied that the formulation of the Responsibility to Protect does not require the consent of the state in conflict: the Security Council could authorize deployment of an enforcement mission, be it UNEPS or another peacekeeping force under Chapter 7-- this is the novel element. Regarding Darfur, Mr. Wolter suggested that the Permanent five members *prefer* to get the consent of Sudan but it is not legally necessary. They think that intervening without consent would expand the conflict or perhaps jeopardize other interests. Don Kraus noted that decisions regarding the utilization of peacekeeping operations in a situation like Darfur may be determined by the likelihood of success rather than the consent of the government. If a capacity like UNEPS had existed, he doesn't think it would have to rely on the agreement of the state in question in order to deploy.

In his final comments, Don Kraus noted that Civil Society is pushing now more than ever for effective peacekeeping tools. Groups traditionally uninvolved in these matters are now seeing that one cannot support refugees without pushing for robust security mechanisms. If we take the International Criminal Court, with its capacity to act as a deterrent and hold individuals accountable for grave abuses, and add to that a proposal for a UN Emergency Peace Service to prevent genocide and crimes against humanity; bit by bit we are creating the institutions and mechanisms for building a world where we all can, and will want, to live. Hussein Solomon ended by reminding the audience that from an African perspective, state security has thus far been purchased at the expense of human security. People are often more afraid of their own military than outside intervention. He urged the audience to remember that insecurity anywhere is a threat to security everywhere. Dr. Solomon joked that he will continue to hope and pray and "stay close to [his] Prozac" as he continues to move forward with UNEPS.

Panel IV: What is the Way Forward?

Dr. Robert Zuber, Development and Outreach Director for Global Action to Prevent War, moderated the final panel of the day. In his opening remarks, Robert reminded the audience of the need for peace and human rights organizations to embrace transition strategies. Transition not only from one generation of leadership to the next, but also towards leadership that embodies the full diversity of race, gender, culture, age and other facets of the human condition that need to find more places at the policy table. In addition to “making sure that this next generation looks as little like [him]” as possible, he expressed the need for people who can help build bridges between a variety of ‘human security’ issues. He then pointed to the panelists, highly skilled and passionate young women who, partially as a result of their diverse cultural backgrounds, embody the ability to see security and human rights in a broader human context.



How can Students Advocate for Creation of a UNEPS to ‘Prevent the Next Darfur’?



Stephanie Nyombayire, Swarthmore College student and Genocide Intervention Network (GI-Net) representative, was the first to address the audience and discussed her role as the representative of GI-Net, as well as her personal experience with genocide. As a native of Rwanda, Stephanie lost over one hundred family members to the genocide and has since become one of the youngest and most prominent spokespeople for genocide prevention in the United States. GI-Net, Stephanie stated, works both on a grassroots level and on a policy level for the prevention of genocide. Starting out as an NGO based at Swarthmore College, it is now a growing movement of people from all spectrums advocating for an end to genocide.

GI-Net uses regional organizations and prominent individuals focused on African conflict prevention as one means to help citizens take action to stop genocide. In addition, GI-Net’s student-led division, Students Taking Action Now: Darfur (STAND) is one of the most important student networks focusing on Darfur across college campuses. The student movement has become a powerful force. It is critical to not only address and include policymakers, but also to build broad public support, Stephanie stated. Through letter writing campaigns, divestment networks and powerful lobbying and awareness campaigns “we can all become a potent tool for social change.” One example of this effort is the establishment of 1-800-GENOCIDE, a phone number that individuals can call to learn what they can do locally in their areas to help stop genocide. Another focus of GI-Net is getting students to learn more about the need for civilian protection capacities. Many times students fundraise for humanitarian aid but don’t realize that in order for humanitarian aid to be effective there needs to be security.

Ms. Nyombayire closed by saying that “we are living in a world where a problem in Rwanda now becomes about how each and every person has a responsibility to be sure that everyone has the same rights to life.”

How does Someone get Involved in Promoting the “Responsibility to Protect”?



The next panelist, Sapna Chhatpar of the World Federalist Movement’s Institute for Global Policy (WFM-IGP), discussed her role as the IGP Program Associate for the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) project. The question of how to best get people involved in promoting the responsibility to protect is an interesting one, as R2P is not a tangible policy but rather an evolving norm. She reminded the audience that the Responsibility to Protect is a universal agreement, signed by all 192 UN member states. R2P declares that a state has the primary responsibility to protect its citizens, but if it fails to do so, the international community can override sovereignty and assert not only the right but the responsibility to act on behalf of civilian populations. There first needs to be more education of governments and education of citizens, she said. “By consulting with civil society organizations and building awareness of this agreement as a means to form a stronger network of NGOs that have accepted and advocated for these principles, we hope to integrate R2P as a permanent part of the international community’s work.”

Engaging organizations, governments and UN agencies in developing the responses and tools available to both support and implement R2P is another crucial area of work. How could the U.S. military, for example, work to “operationalize” the responsibility to protect? Ms. Chhatpar connected the concept of R2P with UNEPS in the following way: “we do not have any means of enforcing R2P, as can be seen in the current situation in Darfur. However, UNEPS could provide the necessary tools needed to truly protect vulnerable people in the world’s worst conflict zones.”

How can Law Students Participate in this Work?

Megha Jonnalagadda, Rutgers Law School student and President of the Rutgers International Law Society highlighted the growing participation of law students in responding to the situation in Darfur. Ms. Jonnalagadda spoke of the necessity to move one step further and employ the legal tools and skills students are acquiring to strengthen the preventive tools available to international organizations. She urged students to do four things: educate themselves, engage themselves, engage others, and as the rock band CURE said, “don’t stop believing.”



“We, as law students have an obligation to use our education to seek every legal means possible for strengthening the 1948 Genocide Convention and turn it into more than simply empty words on a page,” she declared. Students should participate in student groups and organizations such the International Law Society and the Human Rights Forum. When assigned a paper, a topic should be chosen that expands on some of the issues raised in the day’s panels, and that can contribute to building a legal foundation for a UNEPS. Talk to friends, put up posters, whatever is within one’s means. “This is *genocide* we are talking about,” she further stated. “It is as if we have not learned our history lesson.” Ms. Jonnalagadda closed by recalling that Professor Mendlovitz had mentioned that when he was young the ICC was just an idea, and now it is a reality. Maybe some day, she said, genocide won’t be “never again” but “never since.”

How can the Growing Anti-Genocide Movement Concerned with Darfur Become Better Connected with the UNEPS Initiative?



Closing off the panel was NYU student and Global Action to Prevent War intern Alice Nascimento. Discussing both her role with Global Action as well as the activities taking place on her own campus in response to the genocide in Darfur, Alice talked about the necessity of connecting this growing Darfur movement with UNEPS. “The student movement has all the resources and determination to become a powerful tool for social change. However, they are very much in the “now” part of the conflict and very seldom look ahead. What will happen when the next genocide comes along? That’s the question we must compel people to ask. This is why UNEPS must come into being,” she concluded.

Discussion:

After the formal remarks, Bob Zuber asked panelists to recall any disappointments and obstacles they have encountered while trying to promote UNEPS. Ms. Nascimento noted the frustrating frequency of individuals stating point-blank that the creation of a UNEPS was “never going to happen,” regardless of their opinions regarding its utility and necessity. Ms. Nyombayire highlighted the lack of accountability for implementing legislation that has been passed and declarations that have been made. Ms. Jonnalagadda felt that the lack of academic support from the university administration and its professors greatly hampers the efforts of students to contribute meaningfully to the prevention of genocide. Ms. Chhatpar noted the difficulty of advocating for the responsibility to protect when bombarded by questions such as “what good is it if it has not done anything so far?”

Don Kraus closed the discussion by reminding everyone that “it’s a marathon not a sprint.” One has to engage in the politics of intensity and persistence. When pushing for U.S. legislation, for instance, the reality is that in every congressional office there is some staffer “whose sincere hope is that you will go away.” If one or two voters in a congressional district would call the office every week and ask for a firm yes or no on a particular issue, eventually our representatives will have to deal with your concerns. Mr. Kraus recalled how he once could not get member of congress to co-sponsor a bill. After weeks of trying, he tore a bumper sticker supportive of that member of congress off of his own car and mailed it to him with a note that said, “if you run again I will vote for you but if you won't co-sponsor my bill I won't work for you.” The member of Congress co-sponsored the bill the next day. The moral of the story, he said, is that you can really change the world if you are persistent and intense about it.

Conclusion:

Throughout the day, panelists gave challenging and compelling responses to the creation of a standing, rapid response service for the UN. Audience members participated actively in the question and answer sessions, and a general sense emerged that each person interested in the prevention of genocide can work within their own communities and within their own abilities to promote the creation of a United Nations Emergency Peace Service. A number of important details about the proposal and the campaign to promote it remain to be resolved, and the UNEPS working group welcomes interested individuals ready to help us take up these challenges and advocate on behalf of our findings. For continued coverage of the UNEPS initiative, please see

<http://www.globalactionpw.org/uneeps/index.htm>.

RUTGERS SCHOOL OF LAW-NEWARK
GLOBAL LEGAL STUDIES PROGRAM
INTERNATIONAL LAW SOCIETY
AND
GLOBAL ACTION TO PREVENT WAR
PRESENT A WORKSHOP

**TO PREVENT GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY:
DIVERSE PERSPECTIVES ON A STANDING, RAPID-REACTION UN
EMERGENCY PEACE SERVICE**

Thursday, 29 March 2007

Despite the longstanding need to address threats of genocide and crimes against humanity, the United Nations still has no reliable and rapidly deployable mechanism to protect the lives of civilians. The Rwandan genocide is only one of the tragedies that illustrate this incapacity, as are the massive killings in Cambodia, Bosnia, Sierra Leone, East Timor, the Darfur region of Sudan and elsewhere.

A growing global movement of students, citizens groups, academics, government officials and UN agencies is coming together to create a permanent **UN Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS)** to ensure that the tools and capacities are in place to prevent the next humanitarian disaster. A service like UNEPS could have prevented many of the atrocities that have killed millions of innocent people, wounded millions more, forced tens of millions from their homes, destroyed entire economies, and wasted hundreds of billions of dollars. As a complement to other national, regional, and United Nations efforts, a UN-based Emergency Peace Service could provide immediate, stabilizing protection in some crises while serving as an advanced, integrated capacity that could lay the groundwork for subsequent peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations. The proposed service would consist of highly trained, individually recruited personnel with a wide range of skills, including civilian police, judicial experts, military, and humanitarian assistance professionals.

Inside you'll find today's program, information about our panelists and additional materials that may enable you to become more involved in initiatives working towards the prevention of genocide. For example, close attention should be paid to the actions taken by governments that either foster or undercut international cooperation on the protection of civilians from genocide and mass atrocities. In the U.S., we must lobby for the resolution introduced in the House of Representatives (enclosed) which offers support for a UN Emergency Peace Service, and for Senate bill 392, which calls upon the US to pay its arrears to the UN for peacekeeping operations. We thank you for your presence today, and look forward to working with you in the future.

PROGRAM

Registration, 9:30 am

Welcome and Introduction (10:00 am)

Welcome: Dean Stuart Deutsch, Rutgers School of Law-Newark

Introduction: Saul Mendlovitz, Dag Hammarskjöld Professor of Peace and World Order Studies;
Co-Chair, Rutgers Global Legal Studies Program

Keynote Address (10:15—10:45 am)

Speaker: Sir Brian Urquhart, one of the first United Nations civil servants, former UN Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs (1972-1986), and scholar-in-residence at the Ford Foundation.

Panel One: How can a United Nations Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS) help prevent genocide and crimes against humanity in the 21st century? (10:45 am – 12:00 pm)

The panelists will examine the strengths and limitations of the United Nations Emergency Peace Service proposal in light of Sir Brian Urquhart's opening remarks.

Chair: Lois Barber, Director, EarthAction

Panelists: Peter Langille, Associate Professor, University of Western Ontario
Karima Bennoune, Associate Professor, Rutgers University School of Law
Steve Crawshaw, UN Advocacy Director, Human Rights Watch

Lunch (12:00—12:45 pm)

Panel Two: How can the international community best fulfill its “responsibility to protect?” (12:45 pm – 2:00 pm)

The panelists will examine some of the promises inherent in the evolving norm of the “responsibility to protect” as well as new efforts such as UNEPS to make UN and regional peacekeeping operations more responsive, more rapidly, to the security needs of civilians. How could a peacekeeping tool such as UNEPS help the international community honor its responsibility to protect?

Chair: Bill Pace, Executive Director, World Federalist Movement-Institute for Global Policy

Panelists: Courtney Smith, Associate Dean of Academic Affairs, Whitehead School of
Diplomacy and International Relations, Seton Hall University
Alejandro Soto Romero, Chief of the Department of Preventive Medicine,
Ministry of Health, Guanajuato, Mexico
Joshua Smith, Research Associate, Future of Peace Operations,
Henry L. Stimson Center

Break, 2:00 pm - 2:15 pm

Panel Three: How is UNEPS perceived in diverse global regions? (2:15pm – 3:30 pm)

The panelists will examine how diverse governments and cultures react to new peacekeeping tools such as UNEPS. How does the perception of peacekeeping operations in different global regions create political opportunities and barriers to the creation of UNEPS? Which countries and regions might be most receptive to the creation of a standing, rapid-reaction capability for the United Nations?

Chair: Waverly de Bruijn, International Coordinator, Global Action to Prevent War

Panelists: Alcides Costa Vaz, Vice-Director, Institute of International Relations, University of Brasilia (Brasilia, Brazil)
Don Kraus, Executive Vice President, Citizens for Global Solutions (Washington DC, USA)
Hussein Solomon, Director, Centre for International Political Studies, University of Pretoria (Pretoria, South Africa)
Detlev Wolter, Author, “A UN for the 21st Century: From Reaction to Prevention” (Brandenburg, Germany)

Coffee and snack break, 3:30pm - 3:45 pm

Panel Four and Group Discussion: What is the Way Forward? (3:45pm – 4:30 pm)

In this session, we will explore how students, NGO representatives and others can advocate for creation of a United Nations Emergency Peace Service to ‘prevent the next Darfur’. What are the arguments commonly used for and against a tool like UNEPS? What is the message we most need to share? How can we influence national governments (including the permanent five Security Council Members) to take leadership on rapid reaction capacity and the responsibility to protect?

Moderator: Robert Zuber, Development and Outreach Director, Global Action to Prevent War

Panelists: Megha Jonnalagadda, President, Rutgers International Law Society
Stephanie Nyombayire, Representative, Genocide Intervention Network
Sapna Chhatpar, Program Associate, Responsibility to Protect-Engaging Civil Society, World Federalist Movement-IGP

PARTICIPANTS

Lois Jewel Barber is Co-creator and Executive Director of EarthAction, an international network of over 2,200 citizen's groups in 163 countries that have worked together on 83 campaigns focused on global environment, development, peace, and human rights issues. She is also Creative Director of the World Future Council Initiative. She founded and serves as the President of 20/20 Vision, a U.S. peace and environment organization. She lectures widely and has received many awards including the "Woman of Distinction Award" by the National Women's Education Association and was one of 16 global citizens featured in the book, *Planet Champions—Adventures in Saving the World*.

Karima Bennoun is an Associate Professor at Rutgers University School of Law– Newark where she teaches international law and human rights. She served as a legal adviser for Amnesty International's (AI) International Secretariat for four years, working on issues including torture and human rights in armed conflict. In December 2006, she became the first Arab-American law professor to win the Derrick Bell Award from the Minority Groups Section of the American Association of Law Schools. In February 2007, she helped to organize the first ever international conference of human rights organizations to discuss terrorism as a human rights issue. She is a former member of the Executive Council of the American Society of International Law, and a current member of both the Board of Directors of AI-USA and the Board of Trustees of the Center for Constitutional Rights. Her scholarly writing has appeared in many leading international law journals.

Sapna Chhatpar is a Program Associate for the Responsibility to Protect-Engaging Civil Society (R2PCS) project at the World Federalist Movement-Institute for Global Policy (WFM-IGP). The R2PCS project works to deepen the understanding of the commitment world leaders made on the Responsibility to Protect and ensure that it is accepted and implemented at international, regional and national levels. Previously, Ms. Chhatpar worked for a United States Congressman as the international affairs staffer where she worked to mobilize Congressional leaders against the war in Iraq and draw attention to a variety of human rights crises. She also worked a civil rights law firm which specialized in employment discrimination law. For the past 10 years, Ms. Chhatpar has worked on a variety of human rights issues, most notably on the situation in Burma.

Waverly de Bruijn is International Coordinator of Global Action to Prevent War and coordinates the UN Emergency Peace Service working group. Previously, Ms. de Bruijn co-chaired the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC) in Syracuse, New York and served as the organization's representative to the SEAC National Council. In 2002, she was a founding member of the student newspaper "Blueprint: Designs for Change," devoted to printing news on pressing social and environmental issues. A graduate of Syracuse University, her honors thesis "The Attraction to Activism: Recruitment and Retention in Progressive Student Organizations" studies the ways in which individuals become interested in and devoted to global advocacy efforts.

Alcides Costa Vaz is the Vice-Director of the Institute of International Relations of the University of Brasilia, Brazil. He holds a Ph.D. degree in social science and the sociology of international relations, University of Sao Paulo, and an M.A. degree in international relations. He is the author of many books and articles on international security, regional politics and integration, and Brazilian foreign policy. His current research focuses on the role of emerging powers in international security and regional security cooperation in South America. Mr. Costa Vaz is also member of the UNEPS working group.

Steve Crawshaw joined Human Rights Watch as London director in 2002, and became the organization's UN advocacy director in 2006. Before joining Human Rights Watch he worked for many years as a journalist with *The Independent*, including as Germany bureau chief, chief foreign correspondent, foreign news editor and senior editorial-writer. He reported especially from Russia, eastern Europe and the Balkans, including the east European revolutions, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Balkan wars and the fall of Slobodan Milosevic. He is the author of *Goodbye to the USSR* (1992) and of *Easier Fatherland: Germany and the Twenty-First Century* (2004, German edition 2005).

Megha Jonnalagadda is a second year student at Rutgers School of Law-Newark. She is a member of the Rutgers Law Review, Moot Court Board, and President of the International Law Society. She was a legal intern at the Documentation Center of Cambodia in Phnom Penh last summer, where she studied the applications of the Genocide Convention to the actions committed by the Democratic Kampuchia regime against the Buddhist monkhood. She is currently completing her Law Review casenote on this topic.

Don Kraus is the Executive Vice President of Citizens for Global Solutions where he directs the organization's Government Relations Department and Political Action Committee. Additionally, he currently co-chairs the Partnership for Effective Peacekeeping (PEP). An expert in building U.S. legislative and government support for the UN, Mr. Kraus has worked with members of Congress to introduce a number of UNEPS related bills; most recently H. Res. 213. He has been quoted in the NY Times, the Washington Times, the Washington Post, the Boston Globe, and many other publications, and interviewed on CNN, BBC, NPR, and many other radio and TV shows. He is the president emeritus of the Center for UN Reform Education, and currently serves on the advisory board of the United Nations Association, National Capitol Area. Prior to the formation of Citizens for Global Solutions, Mr. Kraus served as the Executive Director of the Campaign for UN Reform (CUNR).

H. Peter Langille teaches at the University of Western Ontario where he specializes in peace and conflict studies, United Nations peace operations, global politics, Canadian defence and foreign policy. His proposal, case, model, curricula and plans to convert CFB Cornwallis into a Canadian Multinational Peacekeeping Training Centre subsequently prompted the development of the Pearson Peacekeeping Training Centre. His 2002 book, *Bridging the Commitment Capacity Gap: Existing Arrangements and Options for Enhancing UN Rapid Deployment*, developed the concept, case, model and plans for a permanent UN Emergency Service. His fourth book, *Urgent* (forthcoming) will elaborate on the diverse requirements of this proposed UN Service. Peter remains active in the Working Group for a UN Emergency Peace Service and on the board of five civil-society organizations.

Saul Mendlovitz is Dag Hammarskjöld Professor of Peace and World Order Studies at Rutgers School of Law. He held the Ira D. Wallach Professor of World Order Studies at Columbia University School of International Affairs (1979-87) and was visiting Professor, University of Chicago Law School. He has written and spoken extensively on international law and the promotion of a just world order. He has published and edited ten volumes, including: *A Reader on Second Assembly and Parliamentary Proposals*; *Preferred Futures for the United Nations*; and *A U.N. Constabulary to Enforce the Law on Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity*. Professor Mendlovitz is the founding director of the World Order Models Project and a founding member of Global Action to Prevent War.

Stephanie Nyombayire, Genocide Intervention Network Representative, is a Rwandan student at Swarthmore College who has worked tirelessly to help end the genocide in Darfur. She speaks from experience, having endured the trauma of losing dozens of family members in the 1994 Rwandan genocide. In 2005, Stephanie traveled to Darfuri refugee camps in Chad after she was denied entry to Sudan. Her trip, along with fellow students from Georgetown and Boston Universities, was documented in the film "Translating Genocide," which premiered on MTV on March 12, 2006.

William R. Pace has served as the Executive Director of the World Federalist Movement-Institute for Global Policy, a 59-year old peace movement dedicated to promoting international democracy, global justice, and the rule of law, since 1994. In 1995, Mr. Pace was asked to serve as the Convenor of the NGO Coalition for an International Criminal Court. Mr. Pace is a co-founder of numerous NGO networks and steering committees, including the NGO Steering Committee for the UN Commission on Sustainable Development; the Washington Coalition for Human Rights; and the International NGO Task Group on Legal and Institutional Matters.

PARTICIPANTS continued

Courtney B. Smith is an Associate Professor at the John C. Whitehead School of Diplomacy and International Relations at Seton Hall University, where he also serves as Associate Dean of Academic Affairs and Director of the United Nations Intensive Summer Study Program. His teaching and research interests center on international organizations, specifically the United Nations. He has published articles on global consensus building, Security Council reform, the UN Secretary-General, peacekeeping, the United States-United Nations relationship, the UN Year of Dialogue among Civilizations, and teaching about the United Nations. His book, *Politics and Process at the United Nations: The Global Dance*, was published by Lynne Rienner in 2005.

Joshua Smith is a Research Associate with the Future of Peace Operations program at the Henry L. Stimson Center in Washington, DC. His research focuses on strategies for strengthening the rule of law in post-conflict societies (with an emphasis on international civilian policing and transitional justice initiatives) and developing international capacity to respond to genocide and crimes against humanity. Prior to joining the Stimson Center, Mr. Smith worked at the Woodrow Wilson Center and served as National Security Fellow with Third Way, researching and drafting Congressional legislation on security issues.

Hussein Solomon is Professor and Director of the Centre for International Political Studies. He lectures in the Department of Political Science at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. He speaks and writes extensively on African international relations and security issues. He is also an Executive Committee Member of Global Action to Prevent War. His research interests include conflict resolution, multilateral security institutions, and religious fundamentalism. His most recent publication is entitled *Exploring Islamic Fundamentalist Ideologies in Africa* published by the Africa Institute (Pretoria, 2006).

Alejandro Soto Romero is a medical doctor with Masters Degrees in Primary Health Care/Disease Control and in Nutrition and Metabolic Disorders. He has worked in a number of relief missions in Africa and Asia. Formerly, Dr. Soto Romero held the position of Coordinator of Epidemiology Surveillance for the State of Guanajuato at the Ministry of Health, Mexico. He is currently Chief of the Department of Preventive Medicine and Disease Control at the General Hospital of Guanajuato. He is also an Executive Steering Committee member of Global Action to Prevent War.

Sir Brian Urquhart was one of the first United Nations civil servants. He joined the UN Secretariat in 1945 after six years of war service in the British Army. He served as personal assistant to the first Secretary-General, Trygve Lie, and subsequently worked closely with five Secretaries-General on peace and security matters, especially peacekeeping. He was Under Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs from 1972 to 1986, when he retired. For the next ten years he was scholar-in-residence in the international affairs program at the Ford Foundation. His books include, *A Life in Peace and War*, a memoir, *Hammar skjöld*, a biography of the second Secretary-General, *Decolonization and World Peace*, and *Ralph Bunche: An American Odyssey*.

Detlev Wolter entered the Foreign Service of Germany in 1987. From 1988 until 1999 he served as Second Secretary, Embassy Moscow; Deputy Ambassador to Zambia; and First Secretary, Political Section, Permanent Mission to the European Union. In 2000, he became Head of Unit, European Department of the German Foreign Ministry, and in 2003 Political Counsellor at the German Mission to the United Nations in New York. He served as Vice-Chairman of the First Committee of the 60th UN General Assembly. He was also Chairman of the Group of Interested States in Practical Disarmament Measures and Co-Chairman of the Group of Like-Minded States on Conflict Prevention. He has written a number of books, including *A United Nations for the 21st Century: From Reaction to Prevention* (2007).

Robert Zuber is director of Development and Outreach for Global Action to Prevent War. He has founded and/or consulted with dozens of NGOs and citizens groups worldwide focusing on community sustainability, poverty reduction, media policy, pollution remediation, women's economic development, peace and security, and human rights education.

The Proposal for a United Nations Emergency Peace Service

The time has come to create a permanent UN Emergency Peace Service to ensure that the next preventable humanitarian disaster will not occur. Because a UN Emergency Peace Service would be permanent, based at UN designated sites, and include mobile field headquarters, it could move to quell an emergency within 48 hours after United Nations authorization. Since it would be individually recruited from among volunteers from many countries, it would not suffer the reluctance of UN members to deploy their own national units. As its 12,000 to 15,000 personnel would be carefully selected, expertly trained, and coherently organized and commanded, it would not fail in its mission due to lack of skills, equipment, cohesiveness, experience in resolving conflicts, or gender, national, or religious imbalance. Because it would be an integrated service encompassing civilian, police, judicial, and military personnel prepared to conduct multiple functions in diverse UN operations, it would not suffer for lack of components essential to peace operations or from confusion about the chain of command. By providing a wide range of functions, the UN Emergency Peace Service would, for the first time in history, offer a rapid, comprehensive, internationally legitimate response to crisis.

The 7 Principles of UNEPS include:

1. It will be a *permanent standing force* based at UN-designated sites.
2. It will be capable of *rapid response*, able to respond to an emergency within *48 hours*.
3. It will be coherently organized under a *unified UN command*.
4. It will involve as many as 15,000 personnel, individually recruited from many different countries and demonstrating *skills in conflict resolution, humanitarian assistance, law enforcement and other peacekeeping capabilities*.
5. UNEPS personnel will receive *comprehensive, expert training* in peacekeeping with an emphasis on human rights and gender issues.
6. UNEPS will *supplement existing UN and regional peacekeeping operations*, providing another tool to support international efforts to end genocide and crimes against humanity.
7. UNEPS will be financed through the *regular UN budget*.

The Plan of Action

Because governments have not created the necessary UN capability, the responsibility for breathing life into the United Nations Emergency Peace Service now lies with civil society, working with allies in the UN and interested governments. To create this service, a growing number of citizens' organizations and leaders of civil society are determined to: (1) identify interested parties throughout the world to expand the number and diversity of those committed to this initiative; (2) secure agreement on the principles, composition, and financing of a UN Emergency Peace Service; (3) draw on expert knowledge to ensure that the growing constituency is accurately informed and to write detailed plans for the Emergency Service and how to establish it; (4) develop a well-organized network of support with a compelling website, promotional materials, list of endorsements, and speakers' bureau; and (5) encourage a wide consultative process among non-governmental organizations, the UN system, and national governments to ensure the implementation of a successful strategy.

Talking Points*

The need for rapid response

UNEPS will be immediately available to respond to a crisis. Currently, “rapid deployment” is defined as 30 days for a “traditional” peacekeeping mission (where all parties agree to allow in peacekeepers) and 90 days for “complex” missions (where spoilers attempt to derail a peace agreement). This delay not only proves fatal for civilians whose lives depend on fragile accords, but also for the strength of the accords themselves.

A better tool for the international community

The United Nations Emergency Peace Service will be equipped:

- To take action in face of serious threats to human security and human rights;
- To offer emergency services to meet critical human needs;
- To assist in the establishment of institutions to maintain law and order;
- To initiate peace building processes with focused incentives; and
- To restore hope for local people in the future of their society and economy.

Rapid response to crises is cost effective

- The amount of money saved on post-conflict reconstruction will exceed the startup and operational costs of the United Nations Emergency Peace Service. According to the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, the international community could have saved nearly \$130 billion of the \$200 billion it spent on managing conflicts in the 1990s by focusing on conflict prevention rather than post conflict reconstruction.
- A 2006 General Accounting office (GAO) study concluded that U.N. peacekeeping is eight times less expensive than funding a U.S. force -- the U.N. is half as expensive and the U.S. only pays a quarter of the costs of a U.N. mission.
- UN Peacekeeping has a record of success: A 2005 RAND report suggests the U.N. is better suited for peacekeeping missions than unilateral U.S. action. The study compared 16 U.S. and U.N. nation-building missions and found that of the “eight UN-led cases, seven are at peace. Of the eight U.S.-led cases, four are at peace; four are not—or not yet—at peace.”

Supporting UNEPS enhances the security of the United States

Fragile states provide breeding grounds for terrorism and international crime; preventing destabilizing events is in the interest of the United States and the rest of the world. Like all institutions, the United Nations needs retooling to meet new challenges. No Congressional effort to reform the United Nations is complete unless Congress explores ways to enhance the United Nations ability to effectively prevent and respond to natural disasters, violent conflict, and humanitarian emergencies. Sharing innovative solutions and inspiring international teamwork is the American way.

*Talking points developed by Citizens for Global Solutions

What you can do!

There is a compelling need throughout the globe for concerted action in response to the challenges of UNEPS and its rapid-reaction, standing capacity. Government officials, journalists, academics, NGO leaders and other citizens need reminders of the devastating consequences of our slow reaction to genocidal violence, our indifference to civilian protection.

At this conference alone, you will find representatives and resources from a number of organizations that provide opportunities for your involvement. To sign up to receive e-mails on the UN Emergency Peace Service proposal, UN Peacekeeping reform initiatives and advances in the prevention of genocide, e-mail your contact information (e-mail and mailing address) to coordinator@globalactionpw.org.

1. Citizens for Global Solutions has been the major force behind US House Resolution 213 (enclose in this packet) that declares UNEPS to be consistent with “the interests of the US” (http://www.globalsolutions.org/programs/peace_security/peace_ops/peace_ops_uneps.html). Contact your elected representatives through the House of Representatives switchboard (202) 224-3121 and urge them to sign on to this important resolution.
2. One of the sponsors of today’s event, the International Law Society of Rutgers Law School (http://law.newark.rutgers.edu/students_orgs.html), provides a forum for students wishing to develop an awareness of international legal issues or pursue careers in international law. The ILS will be devoting significant attention to the UNEPS proposal in the coming months.
3. One of the main secretariat partners of the UNEPS project, Global Action to Prevent War (www.globalactionpw.org), has developed a comprehensive framework for ending warfare, genocide and internal armed conflict. Global Action’s network provides abundant opportunities to impact global violence at many levels of society and in many cultural contexts.
4. Another key UNEPS secretariat partner, the World Federalist Movement (www.wfm.org/site/index.php/articles/19), is taking the lead in organizing NGO and other citizen efforts to hold governments accountable to their obligations under the evolving norm of the ‘responsibility to protect.’
5. Genocide Intervention Network (www.genocideintervention.net) is urging the public to advocate for an end to the genocide in Darfur, including contacting members of Congress and helping to acquire resources and build capacity to protect civilians.
6. To read more about this topic, please see our growing rapid-reaction library (<http://www.globalactionpw.org/unepps/resources.htm>) or pick up a book authored by one of our panelists.

Resolution on a United Nations Emergency Peace Service introduced into the US House of Representatives

H.RES. 213 IH, 110th CONGRESS, 1st Session

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that a United Nations Emergency Peace Service capable of intervening in the early stages of a humanitarian crisis could save millions of lives, billions of dollars, and is in the interests of the United States.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Introduced March 5, 2007

Mr. WYNN (for himself, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. WALSH of New York, Mr. BLUMENAUER, and Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that a United Nations Emergency Peace Service capable of intervening in the early stages of a humanitarian crisis could save millions of lives, billions of dollars, and is in the interests of the United States.

Whereas genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity have occurred in Rwanda, Cambodia, the former Yugoslavia, East Timor, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Liberia, and elsewhere;

Whereas the United States Government has found that genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity are occurring in the Darfur region of Sudan;

Whereas, at the September 2005 World Summit, the Member States of the United Nations declared that the international community has a responsibility to protect these populations when countries are unable or unwilling to prevent genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity;

Whereas, at the 2005 World Summit, over 150 heads of state signed a document which the United Nations General Assembly adopted, declaring that ‘we are prepared to take collective action, in a timely and decisive manner, through the Security Council ... should peaceful means be inadequate and national authorities manifestly fail to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity.’;

Whereas failed and failing states can become breeding grounds for terrorism, crime, trafficking, humanitarian catastrophes, and other threats to the United States;

Whereas the 2006 National Security Strategy clearly states that preventing humanitarian disasters and strengthening fragile states is in the national security interests of the United States;

Whereas numerous studies have shown that early intervention in humanitarian crises could save millions of lives and billions of dollars;

Whereas the international community spent approximately \$200,000,000,000 on conflict management during the 1990s;

Whereas approximately \$130,000,000,000 of that amount could have been saved through a more effective preventive approach to conflict management;

Whereas the United Nations does not have a rapid deployment capacity to intervene to avert humanitarian catastrophes;

Whereas there is a need for a United Nations Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS) that could be rapidly deployed during the early stages of a humanitarian crisis to save lives;

Whereas UNEPS could assist in the early implementation of peace accords by providing a ready reserve corps that could be deployed immediately;

Whereas UNEPS would complement, but not replace, existing peace operations of the United Nations, regional organizations, and national governments;

Whereas, if UNEPS had existed at the time that the Government of Sudan and the rebels in Darfur signed the May 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement, UNEPS could have been quickly deployed to cement peace before it unraveled and prevented the loss and displacement of thousands of individuals;

Whereas, if ongoing ethnic and sectarian mass killings and crimes against humanity continue to occur in Iraq and if the Iraqi Government does not have the capacity to protect its citizens from these crimes, then all members of the international community, should, through the United Nations, exercise their mutual responsibility to protect the citizens of Iraq;

Whereas, if the Security Council and the Iraqi Government identified the need for a peacekeeping force to guarantee a negotiated agreement between factions in Iraq and UNEPS existed, a UNEPS force could be quickly deployed to seize the opportunity and help facilitate the implementation of that agreement in advance of a traditional United Nations peacekeeping force or as a surge capacity to buttress peacekeepers already in place; and

Whereas UNEPS could be created for a start-up cost of \$2,000,000,000 and annual costs of less than \$1,000,000,000: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that—

(1) the United States should use its voice, vote, and influence at the United Nations to facilitate and support the creation of a United Nations Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS); and

(2) UNEPS—

(A) should be a permanent entity based at designated sites of the United Nations, should include mobile field headquarters, and should be able to act immediately to address an emerging humanitarian crisis;

(B) should be comprised of individuals who are recruited from United Nations Member States and who are carefully selected, expertly trained, and coherently organized;

(C) should be a dedicated service with a wide range of professional skills within a single command structure, prepared to conduct multiple functions in diverse United Nations operations; and

(D) should be able to provide an integrated service encompassing 12,000 to 18,000 civilian, police, judicial, military, and relief professionals.

END

Available at <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c110:H.RES.213>:

Acquiring a Fire Engine Before the Fire Breaks Out

A Proposal for a UN Emergency Peacekeeping Service

DON KRAUS

The author is Executive Vice President of Citizens for Global Solutions.

ONCE AGAIN the international community is acquiring the backbone to address the deteriorating situation in Darfur, Sudan. However, if the United Nations had a rapidly deployable Emergency Peace Service in place, this delay in helping Darfuris would have never occurred.

Presently, the UN's tool for responding to emergency situations is with peacekeeping forces. This is insufficient for a number of reasons. Secretary-General Kofi Annan has described current UN peacekeeping as "the only fire brigade in the world that has to acquire a fire engine after the fire has started." In the past, UN peacekeepers took three to six months to arrive at a conflict. While response time has improved, "rapid deployment" is still defined as 30 days for a "traditional" peacekeeping mission (where all parties agree to allow in peacekeepers) and 90 days for "complex" missions (where spoilers attempt to derail a peace agreement). This delay can not only prove fatal for civilians whose lives depend on fragile accords, but also for the accords themselves.

Additionally, UN Peacekeeping often struggles to rapidly secure enough personnel for the job. Current Security Council resolutions authorize over 115,000 peacekeepers for 16 missions at a cost of about \$8 billion. When sufficiently staffed, UN missions are hampered by troops from multiple nations who speak different languages, have different levels of training, and use different communications and weapons systems. Further complicating the situation is the lack of coordination between the military and essential non-military elements of a peace operation including humanitarian relief experts and international civilian police.

The international community needs a new tool in its toolbox to fill the gap between need and capacity, something a UN Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS) could provide. It is envisioned as a 12-18,000-strong unit of military personnel, civilian police, legal experts, and relief professionals from various countries who are voluntarily employed by the UN. This force would be carefully selected, expertly trained, and coherently organized, so it would not fail due to a lack of skills, equipment, experience in resolving conflicts, or gender, national, or religious imbalance. UNEPS would operate out of a permanent UN base and could deploy mobile field headquarters within 48 hours of a Security Council authorization.

UNEPS would complement existing peace operations capacities and operate according to a first in, first out deployment philosophy. It would be equipped to respond to serious threats to security and human rights, to offer secure emergency services to meet critical human needs, to assist in the establishment of institutions to maintain law and order, to initiate peace building processes with focused incentives and to restore hope for local people in the future of their society and economy.

One major hurdle facing UNEPS is cost. Yet, early deployment of UNEPS in an emergency situation would still be more cost-effective than the expense accrued from a prolonged disaster brought on by delayed deployment, like in Darfur. In addition, post-conflict reconstruction efforts from such a disaster would add to the expense — something an early UNEPS deployment could avert. According to the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, the international community could have saved nearly \$130 billion of the \$200 billion it spent on managing conflicts in the 1990s by focusing on

conflict prevention rather than post conflict reconstruction. Last year bipartisan legislation was introduced supporting the proposal. It is estimated that UNEPS would cost the UN \$2 billion to create and under \$1 billion yearly to sustain.

Critics in the developing world worry that the great powers will use UNEPS as leverage against weaker countries. Despite this concern, new Global South voices are speaking up in favor of UNEPS. Professor Hussein Solomon from the University of Pretoria believes that UNEPS could collaborate with the African Union. He said that a "definite need has arisen for the implementation of a permanent UN Emergency Service, not as a solitary solution for security challenges, but rather as a complementary approach to other regional, national, and UN efforts."

The responsibility for breathing life into UNEPS now lies with civil society, working with allies in the UN and interested governments. A growing number of NGOs are determined to follow the examples of the ICC and the Ottawa Land Mines Treaty and develop a global network of NGOs and likeminded nations to kick-start UNEPS.

"There is one overwhelming argument for the United Nations Emergency Peace Service," says former UN Under-Secretary General Sir Brian Urquhart. "It is desperately needed, and it is needed as soon as possible." While no peacekeeping force can assure an immediate peace, UNEPS would give the UN a long overdue rapid response capacity. For the people in Darfur, and throughout the world, this cannot come quickly enough.



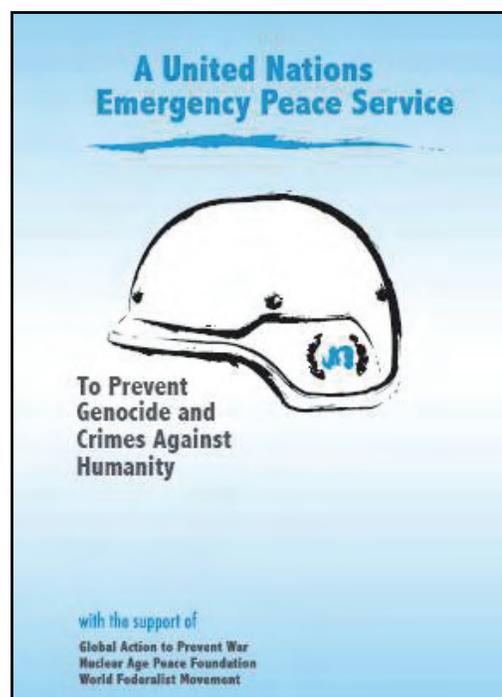
A United Nations Emergency Peace Service: to Prevent Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity

“Anyone concerned with preventing a future Rwanda or Darfur should read this book. This is a bold, politically realistic proposal for establishing a rapid deployment force—a United Nations Emergency Peace Service—to prevent genocide and crimes against humanity.”

– *Juan Mendez, Special Adviser to the United Nations Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide*

Global Action to Prevent War, in collaboration with the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation and the World Federalist Movement, recently published “A United Nations Emergency Peace Service.” This book includes the following:

- The detailed proposal for an Emergency Peace Service, including expert discussion and analysis on its various components.
- Preface by Sir Brian Urquhart, former UN Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs
- Afterword by Lt. Gen. Satish Nambiar, first force commander of the UN peacekeeping mission in the former Yugoslavia
- Comments on the initiative by representatives from South Africa, Brazil and the USA



To order, please send a check payable to “World Order Models Project”
to the following address:
Global Action to Prevent War, 675 Third Avenue, Suite 315, New York, NY 10017, USA
Or order online at <http://www.globalactionpw.org/uneps/publication.htm>

On a United Nations Emergency Peace Service:

“This venture is of the greatest importance both to the UN as a responsible institution and to the millions as of yet unknown, innocent victims who might, in the future, be saved by this essential addition to the UN’s capacity to act on their behalf. There is one overwhelming argument for the United Nations Emergency Peace Service. It is desperately needed, and it is needed as soon as possible.” – **Sir Brian Urquhart, Former United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs**

“The UNEPS initiative directly responds to the widely recognized need to protect people caught in deadly conflicts. While serving as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, I pleaded on numerous occasions for the rapid deployment of specialized forces. Without such presence, military elements could not be separated in refugee camps; humanitarian corridors were seldom set up to allow the victims safe exits; and all too often, innocent civilians were left in the midst of fighting. Effective, trained and specialized standing forces would have been invaluable.” – **Sadako Ogata, Former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees**

“The people and policy makers of the world can continue to be shocked, horrified, outraged and grief-stricken by one genocide after another, or we can take meaningful action to stop the killing.... Their plan for a United Nations Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS) is thoughtful, well researched and solid. When implemented, it will create a rapid, comprehensive, internationally legitimate response to acts of genocide and other crises and save millions of lives through preventive action.” – **Lois Barber, Executive Director of EarthAction**

“With regard to practical tools--if you like the “tool of response”...there are many ideas on the table. But I believe one idea on the table that should be pursued more seriously and discussed within the United Nations, maybe a mandate if need be, is an idea which is being proposed by a very serious group of scholars and organizations. They call this the UN Emergency Peace Service. We can discuss this more fully later; I think this is something that should be debated more seriously so that where there is an actual genocide going on, at an early stage there will be the tool for response which does not depend on individual Member States deciding to send their men and women into harm's way or not to do so.” – **Olara Otunnu, former UN Special Representative to the Secretary General for Children and Armed Conflict**

“I enthusiastically support the proposal of a UNEPS as a means of preventing genocide. An emergency peace force should act swiftly and forcefully. For this, it needs the authority of the UN and financial means from the prosperous countries. Also, charities and the private sector may see a strong motive for supporting the UNEPS initiative.” – **Ernst von Weizsäcker, Dean, Bren School, UC Santa Barbara, former Chairman of the Bundestag Committee on Globalization**

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Conference report compiled by and Waverly de Bruijn, Alice Nascimento Jennifer Tibangin and Robert Zuber. Conference photos by Elisabeth Garrett.

Layout and design by Waverly de Bruijn.

UNEPS SECRETARIAT ORGANIZATIONS:

Global Action to Prevent War, a transnational network dedicated to practical measures for reducing global levels of conflict and to removing the institutional and ideological impediments to ending armed violence and severe human rights violations. GAPW grounds the goal of conflict prevention in specific integrated phases over a three to four-decade period, and demonstrates in a concrete way that we can move from an international system based on conflict and power relations to one based on law and multilateral institutions.
www.globalactionpw.org

Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, initiator and supporter of worldwide efforts to abolish nuclear weapons, to strengthen international law and institutions, and to empower a new generation of peace leaders. In December 2003, the Foundation hosted an International Law Symposium on “Genocide and Crimes against Humanity: The Challenge of Prevention and Enforcement,” which brought together a group of expert participants to explore the need to create a UN Emergency Peace Service.
www.wagingpeace.org

World Federalist Movement-IGP, an international non-governmental organization working to promote democratic global governance and international democracy. WFM-IGP seeks to promote the application of the federalist constitutional political philosophy, including the principle of subsidiarity, to international governance. WFM has helped found and lead CURE, the Coalition for the International Criminal Court, the Hague Appeal for Peace, the Responsibility to Protect – Engaging Civil Society Network, ReformtheUN.org and numerous other international networks and campaigns.
www.wfm.org